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184 It is impossible to exaggerate, on the other hand, the
177 distance existing between the aldea Terêna and those who are
369 scattered in the cities or fazendas, when we discuss their positions in the process of assimilation. Both are subjected to the same socio-cultural mechanisms that operate in this process, although the latter tend to react more favorably, especially when they belong to the second or third generation. Incidentally, these mechanisms will be examined in the final chapter of this work. First, however, we shall try to characterize this non-aldea population in order to ascertain whether it is legitimate to take it as a variant of the process of assimilation.

121 The greatest difficulty met with by the ethnologist in
162 working with a population scattered through an area as extensive
369 as that occupied by the detribalized Terêna, (189) concerns

189. The term detribalized designates that Terêna population that is not settled in aldeas and that lives on fazendas and in cities. Although detribalization may refer to a "condition" (as in the present case), it frequently indicates a "process," whenever we are considering a given population that lives independently from the local groups, although it may be connected with them in certain aspects; strictly speaking, the local group or the native community has no direct control and very little indirect control, over this population.

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121 of course the possibility of direct contact, at least as a substi-
162 tute for participant observation, which has now become alto-
369 gether inadequate. To make such contact possible, the appropriate measure was to reduce the area, while taking care
[101] not to distort the reality to be studied. Thus, we focused the investigation on the cities of Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and Miranda, leaving aside Nioac and the small settlements (with one or two Terêna families) as well as the fazendas--in view of the long distances involved, of the small amount of time available, and of other minor difficulties. Concerning Nioac, the information we had indicated that the number of Terêna families living there was insignificant, although slightly higher than in Miranda, which in turn has not more than eight families, comprising altogether 54 individuals. (190) As for the fazendas,

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190. We are considering only the Terêna who live in the city, not including the inhabitants of Passarinho and Moreira, suburban aldeas of Miranda.

we were acquainted with the situation of the Terêna living in
/120/ some of them in the município of Miranda. This, at least, permitted us to visualize some problems, already mentioned in Chapter VI, when we dealt with the Terêna "colônia"
[125] near Duque Estrada. However, just to get an idea of how widely the Terêna are distributed through southern Mato Grosso, we made an estimate of their numbers, in one município alone--that of Aquidauana: living in the city there are 12 families, a total of 67 individuals (this datum is exact, for we carried out a thorough census); adding this to the probable number of individuals living in the farms, fazendas, and colônias, which add up to about 315 persons or 43 families, we have a total of

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121 382 individuals organized into 55 families. (191) In order to
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191. As for the census of the city, we naturally excluded Aldeinha, whose population was already mentioned in Chapter V. The estimate of the number of Terêna living on fazendas was done on the basis of information supplied by Indians of Aldeinha, who listed the families and, with us, figured out the number of their members.

121 In order to
125 study the urbanized Terêna alone (192)--owing not so much
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192. The term urbanized refers to that part of the detribalized Terêna population that lives in cities. The same distinction emphasized in Note 189 regarding the dual meaning of the concept, as a "condition" and as a "process," must be extended to urbanization. This second meaning would permit the formulation of a research project aiming to measure the degree of variation between families or generations, according to their greater or lesser incorporation into the patterns of behavior of the city. (Cf. R. C. Oliveira, 1958(a).)

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121 to their relatively high numbers, but to their dispersion--we
125 had to rely on sociographic techniques such as the giving of
369 questionnaires and the carrying out of interviews, along previously worked out lines, aside from the use of "life histories" and "case" studies. (193)

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193. The giving of questionnaires and some of the interviews were carried out by our colleague, Dalton Moreira de Araújo, who accompanied us to the cities, Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and Miranda, during the second half of June and the first half of July, 1958, as a research assistant.

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162 Once the area had been reduced, an investigation was made to find out whether this urbanized population could be regarded as representative of the world of the Terêna living in cities. Through interviews with innumerable Terêna of Campo Grande and Aquidauana, it became evident that these cities were the centers of the largest Terêna concentration, especially the former, with its 16 families or 121 individuals. Thus, in decreasing population order, we have Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and Miranda, on a "gradient" that expresses the significance of these centers as foci of /121/ attraction. This gradient led us to dispense with Nioac and the smaller settlements along the railroad line, since it showed that there is a correlation between the size of the cities (in area and population) and the number of Terêna Indians who reside in them. This strengthened the objectivity of the data obtained through indirect means about Nioac, according to which that town had a Terêna population equivalent to that of Miranda. The conclusion we reached was that we would be working with more

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121 than 80 per cent of the urbanized Terêna population, or, in
125 absolute figures, with 242 individuals or 36 families. It must
319 be pointed out, however, that among these 242 individuals,
162 not all can be considered "pure" Terêna; these, or rather, the offspring of a Terêna father and mother, do not number more than 120 individuals; the rest are divided in the following way: interethnic mestizos (offspring of interethnic unions) 102, intertribal mestizos (offspring of intertribal unions) 5, "Purutuya" 11 (whites 5, negroes 6), Guaikuru 2, Paraguayans 1, and 1 individual of unidentified ethnic origin. But, on the other hand, it is no less legitimate to deal with all of them as belonging to a single group, since they are all part of the same network of social relations, since the 36 families registered are identified as Terêna by themselves and by their Brazilian neighbors, regardless of the fact that the "head of the house" himself may be a "Purutuya" (usually a caboclo /mestizo/, if not a Negro) or a Paraguayan.

319 A painstaking analysis of the ethnic picture in these
162 three cities shows that the relations between the urban and communal structures (both, of course, structures with an indigenous content) show asymmetrical profiles when compared among themselves in terms of cross-breeding data. While in the aldeas (taking Cachoeirinha as an example) the interethnic mestizos add up to 37.83 per cent and the intertribal mestizos to 62.16 per cent, thus presenting a higher index of intertribal mestizos, in the cities we have the reverse, if we take the total of the urbanized mestizo population: 95.32 per cent of interethnic mestizos and 4.67 per cent of intertribal mestizos, i.e., an obvious majority of interethnic mestizos. (194)

194. These percentages obviously do not indicate the number of mestizos (a) or (b) in relation to those of other ethnic origins.

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As for this aspect, it can be said that, of the total urbanized population, 53.71 per cent are mestizos (a) and (b); at present in Cachoeirinha, the index of mestizos (a) and (b) is scarcely 16.31 per cent.

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The /122/ importance of this will be examined in the next chapter, when we shall deal with interethnic unions as the preferential type of marriage in the cities.

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The analysis of the origin of this urbanized population, as a whole, discloses that the fazendas are the greatest sources of individuals for the cities, with 23.55 per cent; in second place is the aldea of Bananal, with 13.63 per cent, and in third place, the aldea of Ipegue, with 10.33 per cent. The percentage of persons born in the cities themselves is 33.05 per cent, and the rest of the population originated from small settlements such as Agaxi or Taunay and from aldeas like Lalima and Brejão, whose individual totals are very low and represent insignificant indices. If we bear in mind the low percentage of individuals born in the urban zones (33.05 per cent) as compared with the 66.94 per cent of people who came from the rural zone or from the aldeas, we can conclude that this urbanized population is relatively new. And regarding the Terêna who emigrated from the aldeas, one notes that they tend to keep up their respective local groups, forming more or less cohesive nuclei in the cities where they live. In Aquidauana, for example, this separation is clear: aside from Aldeinha--which is suburban to the town--the Terêna live in two other places called respectively "Guanandi" and "Buraco Quente /hot hole/"; whereas in the former there live 11 persons who came from Ipegue and only one who came from Bananal, in the latter there live 10 persons from Bananal

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167 and only one from Ipegue. This attests the importance of the
369 local group in the migratory movements of the Terêna, with
621 their tendency to survive wherever their members emigrate,
[165] whether to cities or to other aldeas--as happened with the Indians of Lalima in their move to Cachoeirinha and their settlement at the place called Capão, which we have already mentioned in Chapter V.

369 It is clear that the survival of the local group in the
621 cities cannot be explained only by the "local-group consciousness." Another factor here is kinship, in combination with compadrio relations. Religion, which at first we had regarded as primordial, turned out to be a secondary or complementary factor in the grouping of these urbanized Indians into neigh-
369 borhood areas. The neighborhood groups--and we regard them
621 in the broad sense of the term--bring together indifferently
795 "Catholics" and "Believers," although these two groups tend to have separate "neighborhood lives," determined by the religious obligations of the latter, /123/ who are always more strictly controlled by their church. Nevertheless, the number of "Protestants" who live in cities is much smaller than that
[162] of "Catholics." Discounting individuals without religion (5.37 per cent) and those not included (7.02 per cent), out of 242 individuals, 197 (81.40 per cent) identify themselves as Catholics and only 15 (6.19 per cent) as Protestants. And this difference between the numbers of "Catholics" and "Believers" remains more or less the same in the three cities
369 visited, when taken separately. This high number of "Catho-
621 lics" can be explained, in turn, by the reluctance of the
795 Terêna to appear to the interviewer as individuals without
771 religion, and thus not "civilizados".... The low percentage
829 of Indians in the "no religion" category, in a population with such a meager religious life--as we have already shown in the previous chapters--, can only be understood in terms of the distortion undergone by the information on being supplied by the interviewee. To declare oneself a "Catholic" is

/123 cont./ To declare oneself a "Catholic" is
785 already a habit for the Terêna. And among all the Terêna I
771 have known, whether in the cities or in the aldeas, only one was connected with a Catholic association ("Liga Católica de Aquidauana"), his daughter belonging to the "União das Filhas de Maria" and his son-in-law being a "Congregado Mariano." But those who call themselves "Believers" tend to be connected with their church in larger number, owing to its greater demands, it being ever more exacting and taking up far more of the time of its members for the frequent services it promotes.

369 But how does this urbanized population earn its keep?
463 In their majority, i.e., 75 per cent in Campo Grande and in Miranda, and 90 per cent in Aquidauana, these Indians are connected with jobs of an urban nature, among which we might point out hotel employee (male cook, dishwasher, cleaning man), construction worker (stone mason, painter, and assistants), and domestic workers (female cook, laundress, dishwasher). There are also barbers, shoemakers, employees of the Noroeste do Brasil /railroad/, as well as cases of hand laborers for the prefecture (day laborers), street sweepers, office assistants, bakers, doormen in movie houses and school houses, to cite only some of the occupational categories they fill. In terms of rural occupations, we have agricultural day labor, which represents the work most sought out by those who did not manage to get a "job in the city" even though they live there.
[465] Usually they work on fazendas or farms close to the city, earning salaries below /124/ average as compared with their compatriots connected with urban activities.

369 Such is, in synthesis, the situation of the Terêna who
619 live in cities. Even though they lead a life quite different from that of their aldea brethren, (195) the urbanized Terêna

195. The only group that bears some similarity to these urbanized Terêna is that of Aldeinha, owing to

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369 the fact that its members are almost as closely connected to the city of Aquidauana as [128] those who live there. The division we have made follows a methodological criterion whereby the Aldeinha community could be studied, as it actually was, in the chapter devoted to the aldeas, while yet underscoring its peculiar character.

369 619 do not, on this account, fail to continue Terêna, i.e., to remain faithful to their ethnic origin and, to some extent, to * 177 their local group. The loss of their ethnic identification, 369 along with their dissociation from the local group, begins in the generations following those of the emigrant Indians and obeys certain mechanisms. Assimilation seems to become possible only in special cases, out of a conjunction of factors such as the length of stay in the urban area, with its reflexes in later generations, the resulting interethnic marriages and cross-breeding, but above all, the greater or lesser family disorganization, with its decisive influence on the adjustment of the first and second generations in the urban-national [561] structure. It should be noted that we are speaking of the [619] assimilation of the generations following that of the Terêna who emigrated from their aldeas, and not of the emigrant who continues (i) to identify with his aldea of origin or his local group, (ii) to maintain land plots there, and (iii) to return there at the time of secular festivities or of magico-religious rituals reminiscent of the old Oheokoti. The barriers that obliterated the roads of assimilation of these emigrant Terêna will be examined in the final chapter of this work.

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*177 For now, we shall limit ourselves to pointing out certain
●369 regularities that emerge from the observation of the Terêna contingent born in the cities.

*177 The regularities observed may be synthesized in the
369 following proposition: Assimilation is more viable, progressively,
184 beginning with the generations subsequent to the one that settled in the cities. And as a corollary, we have then: Those families that were organized (or formed) in the aldeas and, later, moved to the cities, are less likely to see their members assimilated into /125/ the local Brazilian society, than those families that were formed on fazendas or in the cities themselves. Whereas the former maintain greater stability and remain more closely connected to the communities from which they came or where they were born, the latter are more likely to enter the process of disorganization, permitting greater marginalization of their members, especially those of the younger generations, opening the way to "desegregation" and, as a result, facilitating
121 assimilation. The reader must already have seen, at this point, that we are using a special scheme of references, with the object of making intelligible a process so difficult to verify empirically. This scheme, recently developed by Daniel Glaser, includes the situations of "segregated," "marginal," "desegregated," and "assimilated," as sociological categories arranged in a "continuum," whereby the dynamics of ethnic identification can be understood. (196) Glaser's basic hypothesis

> 196. "Continuum:" "segregating" ↔ "marginal" ↔ "desegregating" ↔ "assimilated." (1958: 33.) /Cited in English./

is that "the change of the pattern of identification of a person,

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*177 What must be borne in mind is that the assimilation of
● 369 this urbanized contingent begins with individual marginali-
156 zation (pluralistic and uncertain aims of the individual,
829 ambivalence in the appraisal of persons /126/ of his own group,
etc.), followed by a reorganization of the personality based
on a different plane, of "desegregation," where the individual
begins to refer in a slighting manner to the identity that is
attributed to him (Terêna, Indian), at the same time showing
his preference for more inclusive identifications (such as
[124] Matogrossan, Brazilian). This is the impression derived from
[123] interviews and from the direct observation of the behavior
of these urbanized Terêna, especially the interethnic mestizos
and, above all, those individuals whose families have begun
[121] to break down. The advantage of this theoretical scheme,
regardless of the reservations one may have about it, is that it
permits a more practical view of the problem of individual
assimilation, since it deals with well-defined and logically
congruent categories.

*177 The result of the analysis focused on the Terêna who
369 live in the cities, shows that rather than a variant of the process
of assimilation, they represent a more advanced stage in a
processus, insofar as they make up a populational contingent
integrated into an (urban) structure that creates conditions for
assimilation. It indicates that the acculturation process itself
is not sufficient (though necessary) to lead a given population
to be assimilated by another, in the majority and politically
and technically dominant. At least this is what may be deduced
from the detailed examination of the relations between the
Terêna as a whole (both those in aldeas and not) and the
representatives of the national society in southern Mato Grosso.
[167] Assimilation begins to be a possibility when the Terêna leave
[571] their aldea and go on to live on fazendas or in cities. Where-
[829] as on the fazendas they adjust to a rural structure, in the cities
they are led to be integrated into the urban-national system
of stratification, occupying the lowest strata, which makes

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*177 ● 369 [571] [829] [464] them, in a general way, nostalgic for the "good times" of life in the aldeas. But for various reasons they remain in the city, raise their children there, or build up their families there. On the other hand, the aldea Terêna, although integrated in the regional economic structure--since they are active in the labor market--, remain more resistant to culture change and more attached to their ethnic origins /etnia/. Segregated in independent aldeas or on reservations, they remain in communities with high "esprit de corps," which make their assimilation unlikely. As we can see, social mobility, combined with /127/ acculturation, makes it possible, under certain circumstances, for the assimilation process to be carried to its ultimate consequences, or, in other words, to be completed.

[361] [196] [571]

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/129/ VIII. The Mechanisms of Assimilation

121 128 In the examination in which we are engaged, with respect to the assimilation process, pointing out two of its most explicative dimensions--acculturation and mobility--, we indicated certain psycho-social mechanisms that operate within it and that seemed basic to us. Our purpose now is to carry forward the analysis, endeavoring to discern the content itself of these mechanisms through a survey of the socio-cultural factors that stimulate and favor assimilation, as well as those that make it difficult or impede it. The former we shall call convergent and the latter divergent.

Convergent Factors

*177 369 [181] 1. The attraction exercised by the city on the Terêna population, as a whole, leads us to regard it as one of the most important factors in the assimilation process, especially when urban life creates prospects of higher remuneration, better recreation, and better education for their children.

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better recreation, and better education for their children. This occurs as much by hearsay as by personal experience, since it is unusual for the adult Terêna male to be unfamiliar with Aquidauana or Campo Grande, to cite only the more developed cities, which, on this account, can offer greater attractions. His mobility is very high: either he goes to town to make his purchases (since he gets cheaper articles there than he does in the settlements strung out along the railroads), or he passes through it on his way to work on fazendas or in colônias away from his aldeas. On his return, he tells his friends and relatives what he saw in the city, what /130/ he did, and he illustrates his report with one or two gewgaws he purchased. This "bringing" of the city little by little to the aldea makes the community receptive to urban things and begins to create an expectation, at first confused, but gradually becoming clearer, in proportion as the advantages they can offer become clearer. Naturally, this is not sufficient to draw the Terêna from his aldea once and for all. The experiences we had with the aldea population, especially with the Cachoeirinha community, show that the Terêna emigrates only when he feels hostility on the part of his group or of the superintendent of the native post, or else, when he does not find the conditions necessary for his development. We have an example of this in the move from Cachoeirinha of the Indians, Alexandre and Lúcio, and from Ipegue, of the Indian, Simão. The first two left with their families, respectively for Miranda (on a farm close to the city) and for Araribá (an aldea in São Paulo state) for different reasons: Alexandre, because Cachoeirinha does not offer good conditions (pasture land, water) for his cattle-raising, while at the same time he no longer enjoyed the support of the man who was superintendent at the time and he had quarreled with Captain Timóteo; as for Lúcio, regarded as the richest Indian in the aldea, and for this reason envied and respected--for he even employed on his plantations his own compatriots--, his recent move

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369 seems to be due rather to the fact that Cachoeirinha had be-
167 come "small" for the development of his farm plots, than to
578 the tension that existed between him and the community. (199)
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199. As we already mentioned in note 139, Lúcio, thanks to his past, had acquired a great sense of competition and highly organized working habits. Hence he felt that Cachoeirinha had nothing more to offer him, not only because he had no technical assistance, but also because he had heard that São Paulo offered the best possible opportunities to those with a capacity for work.

[233] The story of the Indian, Simão, is different: the owner of a rather large herd of cattle, some 250 head, he decided to try life in the city of Campo Grande, because Ipegue and Bananal could no longer hold such a large number of beeves belonging to a single owner; with the glaring lack of resources on the reservation, his compatriots became hostile toward him, slashing his cattle (usually on the ear) and complaining to the native post about the damage that "all those cows did to the farm plots, and no amount of fencing was enough...." Contrary to the two who left Cachoeirinha, /131/ but who went on doing the same work, Simão decided to try out the city, but was unsuccessful. (200) Nevertheless, the majority of the

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200. He bought a modest store (bolicho) and almost lost all his money there. The last time we saw him

369 /131 cont./ The last time we saw him in Campo Grande, he had bought a house, still tied up to estate inventory, and he was trying to salvage his money by hiring a lawyer.

369 individuals who go to the city, leave the aldea because of
167 friction in the community (201) and are drawn to the city by the
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201. As a source of such friction, an important role is played by the politico-religious division of the community. This is proved by the large numbers of individuals channeled from Bananal and Ipegue to Campo Grande and Aquidauana. While Bananal is in first place among the aldeas, with 23.91 per cent, Ipegue in second, with 18.11 per cent, the other aldeas are most insignificant, sending, in absolute figures, one or two individuals at the most.

162 prospects of bettering their life mentioned earlier. We are not
174 acquainted with recent cases of moves to colônias or fazendas; it seems that the Indians who live in them are remnants of the population that scattered before the creation of the native reservations.

369 The population we call urbanized is made of individuals
*177 with little or no capital, who for this reason settle among the
511 less-favored classes in the city. Nevertheless, for them city
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life represents a rise in their standard of living in relation to the aldea or fazenda, in terms of the salaries they draw, the greater ease with which they find work (because the labor market is broader), as well as the prospect of a richer and more varied recreational life (which is not always fulfilled) and the hope of giving their children a better education (which is generally fulfilled, not always in the schools but rather in the urban "praxis"). As the urbanization process seems to constitute a most effective mechanism of assimilation--as we saw in the last chapter--, the attraction exercised by the city over the Terêna can be regarded as a very important factor for their incorporation into the national society, which is to say, for their assimilation.

2. Military service is another important factor, but which, of course, applies only to the male population. It presents to the young Terêna prospects of new experiences, supplies them with a document that broadens considerably their possibilities of obtaining more stable employment, so that, eventually, when he returns to the aldea, /132/ the state of being a reservist is a constant source of prestige, especially in relation to younger men and to the young single women of the community.

From this desire to travel and to know new places--already pointed out in various studies on the mobility of tribal peoples in interethnic contexts--, (202) the young Terêna could

202. Cf., for example, in relation to Africa, I. Schapera, 1947:115 ff.; in relation to North America, Elizabeth Colson, 1953:158 ff. As for the role of military service, see especially Robert H. Ewald, 1957:164 ff. (Central America).

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*177 not be exempt, especially since he has the opportunity to leave
701 his aldea without spending any money, "with bed, board, and
181 clothing," as /the army/ claims. To him, the barracks gives him the possibility of being treated as a "civilizado," equal
[702] to a "Purutuya." Also, the expectation of instruction, in the extremely practical and modern sense of learning the rules of conduct of life among "civilizados," i.e., the customs and laws of Brazilian society, becoming trained for interethnic living together, is one of the most powerful stimuli for the Terêna to enlist in military life, even though for a short time. On some occasions we could hear in the aldeas, during discussions, the phrases "so-and-so is not familiar with the rules of conduct," or "so-and-so was a soldier, but he did not learn the rules of conduct," or else "so-and-so learned the rules of conduct, but instead of teaching us he is the first one to fight," etc., etc., all of them referring to the condition of being a reservist as
[648] an obligation for an individual to be "more civilized." On the
[156] other hand, the ill-will shown by the officials of the S. P. I. toward the young Terêna reservists is indicative of the extent to which this condition makes an individual a person more demanding and more skillful in the defense of his own interests.

701 More recently, however, it seems that military service,
181 as the supplier of an indispensable document for one who desires
464 a better-paid job, tends to exercise an ever greater attraction.
● 369 In the interviews we carried out in Cachoeirinha and in the cities, we found out how necessary a reservist card is for urban work. Along with the labor card, the reservist is the document most desired by the Terêna, whether by those who live in aldeas (some), or by those who are urbanized (all). Later on we shall see why the lack of documents can be regarded as a divergent factor. We only wish to make it clear that, while the document was needed only for city work, /133/ this was not the case for rural work, such as on fazendas or in colônias, which leads us to believe that the detribalized (but not urbanized) Terêna have less reason to do military service.

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177 582 563 557 369 562 3. A third order of convergent factors can be found on the plane of family organization, through interethnic marriage and the compadrio system. In the last chapter we saw the high index of interethnic mestizos in the cities, in relation to the index of intertribal mestizos. On comparing these indices with those obtained for the aldea population (particularly, Cachoeirinha), we found that the proportion was reversed in such a way that it led us to diagnose the present tendency of marriage in the urban zones. What is seen is a tendency on the part of the urbanized population to contract unions with individuals of another ethnic origin /etnia/, especially on the part of the women who regard a "Purutuya" husband as a means of bettering their pattern of living. In the interviews carried out in the cities and in the aldeas suburban to them, such as Aldeinha, Passarinho, and Moreira (as in Limão Verde as well, but because of its multiple ethnic composition), one finds this expectation on the woman's part, nurtured by such conclusive examples as the occurrence of satisfactory marriages made by 177 582 563 369 562 their women friends. When it comes to men it seems to be more difficult, and even when a marriage occurs, it is nearly always contracted with a colored woman. It cannot be denied that barriers created by prejudice make interethnic unions difficult, especially when the men are Indians. But, on the other hand, and this is what we must bear in mind, the Terêna man does not improve his situation by marrying a "civilizada," regardless of her color. (203) On the contrary. Generally this

203. The only woman of another ethnic origin for whom the young Terêna shows obvious enthusiasm is a Japanese. On the basis of the experiences of some /Terêna men/ who worked in Japanese

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*177 582 563 ●369 562 [349]

colônias (in the município of Campo Grande or in Terenos), and who observed there the great capacity of the /Japanese/ woman for agricultural work, the young Terêna men began to eye the Japanese woman with great interest. Naturally this is the case with the aldea Terêna, since it is he who devotes his activities to planting and does not see in the women of his own group good fellow workers on the land. (Cf. our work, 1958b.)

[241]

*177 582 563 369 562 [571] situation gets worse: if he lives in an aldea and takes his wife there, she seldom adjusts to the Terêna community, and in addition is discriminated against by it; if he lives in a city (a more common /134/ situation and really an easier one to cope with), as a rule he must own some material goods in order to win the girl, and this makes marriage quite costly, not only for financial reasons but especially in terms of the gradual (in some cases immediate) estrangement from his ethnic group, even though he continues to consider himself Terêna, speaking the language and occasionally meeting with his old companions.

563 608 557 The widening of the family network by means of the compadrio system constitutes a technique of Terêna accommodation in Brazilian society, when the godparents invited to the baptism of his children are selected from among the regional neo-Brazilian population or among the "Purutuya" who enjoy [175] [185] privileged positions in the city or on the fazendas. At the time when the Terêna scattered among the fazendas--from the

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Paraguayan war to the passage of the Rondon Commission--, baptism and consequently the compadrio system (in its most formal form) was almost a compulsory affair, during the visits of the padres to the "colônias," generally with the consent of the fazendeiro. The surnames that the Terêna carry today, adopted from their godparents, are a witness to that period. [illegible] present, with the probable exception of the population that still resides on fazendas, this is no longer of such frequent occurrence: in the aldeas, the intra- and intertribal compadrio system is almost absolute, (204) thus strengthening the tribal

204. In the aldeas, the only "Purutuya" godparent is the post superintendent, for obvious reasons.

solidarity threatened by the intense process of change to which the group has been subjected; in the cities, the interethnic compadrio is more common, not only because the field is naturally broader, but especially owing to the Indian's desire to rise socially through this. It is evident that the same mechanisms function here as those that lead individuals from the poorer classes to seek, by the technique of the compadrio, to rise on the social scale; it is only that in relation to ethnic groups--as is the case with the Terêna--, the compadrio represents, rather than social climbing, integration into the dominant structure. Nevertheless, it is unnecessary to underscore the fact that the compadrio is a technique rarely utilized by individuals of the soi disant Protestant group: the institution with results parallel /135/ to the compadrio for the "Believer," is the Evangelical fraternity that is built on worship groups.

4. Among all of the acculturative agencies that have undermined tribal resistance to change, the most effective have been the religious missions. Since this is true of all the indigenous groups that were subjected to religious proselytism

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*177 Proteção aos Índios. But the most common technique was to
666 send trucks to the aldeas to bring the Terêna to the city, where
648 they had to attend large rallies organized there. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we saw the PSD /Partido Social Democrático/ and the PTB /Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro/, parties then united and of the opposition, send trucks to the reservation, which returned full of Indians, electors or not, anxious to take advantage of the free ride to the city of Miranda. When the UDN /União Democrática Nacional/, the party in power, set up its rally, the same Indians would return to the city, under identical conditions, with the sole idea of taking maximum advantage of a recreational opportunity. Political loyalty was proportional to the value of the gifts received and of the promises made to the "captain" or the community leaders.
[622] In other words, it was a matter of winning over the most influential persons in the aldea, especially the "captain," who always had a body of electors loyal to him rather than to the
[466] "Purutuya" parties or candidates. It should be noted that in the community we are dealing with, all the votes (except for one of two) were promised to the party in power, owing to the fact that the prefect of Miranda had showered gifts on the aldea "captain," in spite of being himself the greatest exploiter of native labor, both on his fazenda (next to the reservation) and on his sugar and rum mill (close to the aldeas of Passarinho and Moreira), where he pays wretched wages to his employees, who are all Indians from Passarinho.

*177 The reaction of the detribalized Indians varies in the
666 following way: those who live on fazendas have even less
●369 freedom to vote, since they must always follow their master, the fazendeiro (in the political picture, he follows the same path as the neo-Brazilian country people); the urbanized Indians tend to vote for the candidates indicated by the Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro, claiming that this is the party of workers and that they, as such, cannot but support its candidates.
[829] This shows the rise of a more relevant political consciousness,

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*177 and one more compatible with a democratic system, something
666 that does not happen in the aldeas or on the fazendas, which
369 are still part of a paternalistic structure (each in its own way)
829 and ideologically inconsequent. The fact is that both the aldea Indians and the detribalized ones, on the whole, are led by the activities of the political parties to an awareness of the existence of /139/ a broader structure that compels them to express themselves by means of the vote. Of course, the consciousness of this mechanism varies in the proportion indicated above, with the urbanized Indians in the "more enlightened" [158] position. It is worth mentioning here, to illustrate a change which is taking place in the Terêna situation, the candidacy of one of their most active leaders, the "Believer," Patrício Lily, for a member of the city council of Miranda in the coming elections of October, 1958. (206) There is no doubt that the

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206. This Terêna, in spite of living in a village--and of being classified roughly among the aldea Indians--is one of the exceptions, perhaps the most glaring one, owing to the fact that he is connected with the city to the same extent as the urbanized Indians, as demanded by his profession as a music teacher and an Evangelical leader, whose story we already referred to in Chapter V. (When this work was in press, in final proofs, we learned that the Terêna, Patrício Lily, had given up his candidacy, claiming that he was not a politician, although he had been invited to join various slates of candidates.)

G /141 cont./
*177 rather actively in the social mobility of the Terêna, impelling
463 him to try to change his "trade" or, better, to acquire skill
555 in a nonmanual trade, wherever the opportunity arises. Since
[24] what little craft work to be found in the aldea /142/ itself,
[369] such as metal work, leather work, or tailoring, is not sufficient
[167] to exempt those who exercise it from agricultural tasks and
work on the fazendas, a move to the cities (physical mobility)
appears to the Terêna as the sole possibility for a real change
of occupation (horizontal mobility) while at the same time it
might raise him in social life (vertical mobility). While such
a new occupation is not always achieved, as in the case of
Arlindo, the attempts and efforts exerted to obtain it always
yield new experiences to the individual and, indirectly, to the
G group. We may conclude that the labor market, both urban
[464] and rural, to the extent that it draws the Terêna outside his
[167] aldea, is creating conditions for his assimilation.

Divergent Factors

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*177 1. The existence of a peculiar physical appearance as
563 well as language, creates barriers which are extraordinarily
369 difficult to overcome, since the Terêna is discriminated against
B wherever he goes. This applies to the aldea Indians, and in a
563 sense to those on the fazendas--as far as the phenotype is con-
G cerned--more than among those living in the cities, who for
[191] the most part speak Portuguese correctly and without an accent,
while at the same time they dress better and are practically
undifferentiated from the neo-Brazilian of the less-favored
G classes. Their very physical type blends with that of the
[142] biologically mestizo population (207) which, on its part, never

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207. We say "biologically mestizo" in spite of being aware that we are falling

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into a tautology. We wish thereby to make it clear that the (interethnic) mestizos referred to so far still maintain the same style of life and the same group consciousness that characterize the "biologically pure" Terêna. Despite cross-breeding, they continue to be Terêna and to be acknowledged as such by the community.

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claims the condition of descent from Indians but, on the contrary, shows great contempt for the "bugre" /"wild Indian"/--the term by which the non-native population pejoratively calls the Indians of the region. But the aldea Terêna, for the most part, speak badly and with an accent, aside from dressing in a more rustic way, whether they are men or women. This makes them easy to identify wherever they go, making it possible for the "bolicheiros," (208) for example, to wait on

208. Cf. note 141.

them always /143/ last and not infrequently unwillingly, in flagrant discrimination. Many times there have been cases of unwarranted attacks on groups of individuals while making purchases in the cities. One of them, with serious consequences, occurred in Miranda, involving a Terêna family from Cachoeirinha and a group of city policemen: the chief victim says that he was standing on a sidewalk, along with his son and other companions, when two or three soldiers came up to them and insulted them; following the reaction of his son, although it was a timid one, the policemen attacked him, dispersing the group with shots; one of these shots hit him, making him fall to the ground with a leg wound. This cost him

G /143 cont./
*177 some time in the hospital, at the expense of the S. P. I.,
563 which tried to file charges against the aggressors, but without
369 any positive results, according to the information we got.
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583 This shows how much the mere presence of the Indian outside his aldea, i.e., in a store or in a city, can provoke discriminatory attitudes that can go as far as aggression. The mere appearance of the Indian, especially the aldea Indian, makes him distinguishable wherever he goes. Naturally, this hinders the occurrence of the known phenomenon of "passing" from a minority group (ethnic or national) into the dominant majority group.

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*177 Knowledge of the Portuguese language is indispensable
191 to the Terêna today, in whatever situation he is found: it
269 facilitates interethnic relations, broadening enormously his area of social or merely geographical mobility. So much so that in the aldeas held as traditionalistic and ethnically homogeneous, only children up to six or eight years do not
G speak Portuguese. In these aldeas, there are many old people
[561] who never got to speak Portuguese correctly, because they
[648] lived at a time when the relations of the community with the Brazilian society were of such an enslaving nature that the Indian could not choose his work or change bosses. With the advent of official protection--as we saw in Chapter IV--he got to be more his own master, able to choose the alternative that was best for him. He thus acquired a minimum of freedom, though quite a limited one in the face of the meager regional labor market. For this reason, there are no men between 15
G and 60 years who do not speak Portuguese relatively well in
[184] those aldeas classified as old or traditionalistic. In the aldeas more recently formed or of multiple ethnic composition, both children and /144/ elders speak Portuguese because they learned it thanks to contact with neo-Brazilian families (on the fazendas which they left to form the new aldeas) or through their relations with individuals of different tribes (such as the Guaikuru in Lalima, or the Kaiwá in Francisco Horta). But in the cities,

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*177 191 369 561 i.e., among the urbanized Terêna, the knowledge of the Terêna language is rarer among the new generations and more common among the old people (emigrated from aldeas). But in the cities,

*177 191 142 There is no need to emphasize the importance of the Terêna language and the Mongoloid phenotype as factors that help to hinder assimilation, since they are characterized as "racial marks."

*177 212 464 2. There are other factors, however, that act in a divergent way in the assimilation process, while hindering the attainment by the Terêna of better-paid and more stable jobs. Such is the lack of documents, already mentioned earlier, when we [465] discussed the reservist's card. The "passes" supplied by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios are not accepted by employers or, at best, are only partially accepted, i.e., the bosses, claiming that the "passes" do not have the same value as the work card (to get which it is necessary to have a birth certificate from the registry office), or, at least, the reservist's card, end up by rationalizing the low wages they pay. The interviews we carried out, however, show that there is already an awareness among the Terêna of the fact that it is indispensable to possess some identification, especially a work card, without [369] which they cannot obtain better jobs. Although it is the Indians living in the cities who feel the lack of identification most acutely, those living in aldeas are already beginning to see how necessary this is, especially those who live in communities close to the urban centers (such as Aldeinha, Passarinho, Moreira, and Cachoeirinha).

*177 461 369 511 While the craft, industrial, or merely urban occupations (public sanitation, school and movie employees, servants, etc.) exercise a great attraction for the Terêna, it must be said that once their objectives are realized, it is common for them to feel dislocated in the new occupation, to the extent that they return to the aldea to work on their farm plots, even if this results in lowering their standard of living. Even those Terêna who have reasonably good jobs in the cities and who enjoy a

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standard of living far superior to the best in the aldea, when they do not return to /145/ it, keep lamenting the fact that they are not doing agricultural work. This is a significant point, for it shows the vigor with which the culture imprints in the individual certain patterns which he gives up only with great difficulty, and under unusual circumstances. Agricultural work is so deeply rooted in the behavior of the ordinary Terêna, that this has hindered his "definitive" settlement in the city. This attachment to farm work may be regarded as a second factor, of an economic or productive order, which, hindering the permanent settlement of the Indian in the cities, obliterates one of the roads to assimilation: that of urbanization. Of course, this is not true of the detribalized Terêna--who work and live on the fazendas--since on the one hand they do not need documents, and on the other hand they continue to perform agricultural work; the mechanisms that operate in such a context are of another order, and, probably, even, more effective in the process of assimilation. The lack of detailed information regarding this "fazenda" population that would permit us to infer with the same degree of probability the nature of the "assimilating" mechanisms, as we did in relation to the aldea Terêna and the urbanized Terêna, leads us merely to indicate that the Indians in that ("fazenda") category, more than those in the other categories (aldea and urbanized) are farther along the road to assimilation, either because of their detribalized condition or because they remain in rural contexts, whose "cultural distance" in relation to aldea life is much less than that between the latter and urban life.

3. The Serviço de Proteção aos Índios will be dealt with in this paragraph as a divergent factor in the assimilation process. As we already mentioned in various parts of this work, it was thanks to the protective action of the S. P. I. that the Terêna population (to deal with it alone) managed to survive the impact of Brazilian society, represented historically by its pastoral side. The creation of the native reservations created

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611 the securing and enjoyment of a right he had won. Let us leave
648 aside, however, the indigenist implications of such an attitude
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657 and go on to examine its sociological aspect.

The first measure of the native-post superintendents was to collect the voting certificates in the aldeas themselves. There they managed to collect only part of them, and probably a small part--to judge by Cachoeirinha, where only a few agreed to give up their certificates; a large part of the Indians claimed that their certificates were to be found either at party headquarters (in the city) or in the hands of the electoral magistrate himself, from whom they would have to get them back in order to vote. As a result, some of the superintendents, eager to carry through at any cost the orders of their superiors, went to the cities on election day and tried to prevent the Indians from voting through every possible means. This was a veritable hunt and an extremely difficult task, since while the S. P. I. officials were assisted by one party, they were hindered by another that counted on the votes of the Indians in that particular aldea. Many voted, it is true. Perhaps a majority did, for not all of the officials endeavored to be so efficient....
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[829] But the result of this was to make clear to the Indian that the distance between him and the society of the "Pururuya" is practically unbridgeable. And more: to be an Indian /148/ living in an aldea under the sight of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, (209) is to suffer discrimination too, which begins with the actions of the very body supposed to protect their rights.

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209. The detribalized Indians (urbanized and living on fazendas), as well as those living in aldeas that do not have a native post, were not prevented from voting, since, practically speaking, they were not under the control of the S. P. I.

/148 cont./

000 with the actions of the very body supposed to protect their rights.

*177 4. Aside from the barriers mentioned so far, namely: (1) the ethnic ones (phenotype and language), (2) those created by the urban labor market (lack of documents and preference for agricultural work), and (3) those created by the intervention of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (segregation and discrimination), there are also, to make difficult the full functioning of the assimilation mechanisms, those barriers that we shall call "social," because they operate on the level of the organization of the associative life.

*177 The first of these emerges from the difficulty encountered
● 369 by the Terêna population coming from the aldeas in maintaining
571 the same index of associative life. Whether they settle on fazendas or in cities--especially in cities--Terêna families become involved in more impersonal relations, more shallow, and limited to a small group of fellow tribesmen (usually neighbors, relatives, and compadres) and a few fellow workers. The intensive "social life" of the aldeas (festivals, games, visits, etc.) has no counterpart on the fazendas or in the cities. All of that typically tribal interaction to which they were
[511] accustomed gradually disappears. Even the recreational life
[565] of the Terêna emigrant, which at first seemed about to be enriched by his move to the urban areas, for example, proves much poorer because it is inaccessible to the less favored strata of the population in which he settles.

*177 This integration into the lowest strata, in turn, can be
369 considered as a second barrier that arises between the Terêna
565 and the national society. The detribalized population, from the moment when it leaves its aldea, even if it does not lose touch altogether with its local group, goes on to live either as landless country people (when it settles on fazendas), or as manual laborers (when it lives in the cities). The exceptions,
[511] already mentioned earlier, are rare. But the fact that this detribalized population (especially the urbanized one),

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177 369 385 511 goes on to sell its labor at a better price is not sufficient, for both needs and expenses increase considerably, to the point that it does not pay to leave the aldeas for merely economic reasons. (210) This population is obviously prevented from

210. We saw elsewhere (Cf. 1 and 2, pp. 185-190, that there were also other forces working to attract the Terêna to the city and how they--the forces--were not sufficient to hold them there. As for the fazendas, as a place to live and to work, they do not, and indeed never did, exert attraction on the aldea or even the urbanized Terêna; if this "Terêna fazenda population" exists today, this is due to the successive political and military struggles in which the region was involved, from the Paraguayan war, leading the Terêna population to compulsory enlistment on the fazendas, at a time when native reservations had not yet been set up: this population is made up at present of survivors of the local groups scattered earlier that did not return to aldeas reorganized later. Nevertheless, this population is still identified

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as belonging to a specific ethnic group, as proved by the ease with which its members were identified by our informants in Aldeinha, when they gave us the total of the Terêna population living on the fazendas of the município of Aquidauana. (Cf. p. 174-176.) This, however, does not exclude assimilation into the rural neo-Brazilian population, of successive generations of interethnic mestizos, through the fazendas, which always functioned as agencies of culture change.

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*177 enjoying all of the advantages heralded by urban life; joining
369 the national system of stratification, the detribalized Terêna
565 begin to face those same difficulties that are common to the
563 poorer classes of the regional population. If we add "class
571 barriers" to "ethnic barriers," the result is a limitation of associative life so as to reduce to an extraordinary degree their field of operation in the national society (rural or urban) and deters their assimilation.

361 The most important consequence of the existence of these barriers is the precarious settlement in the cities and even on the fazendas of the great majority of the detribalized Terêna.

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A contributing factor to this, although we cannot specify to what degree, are the difficulties that the Terêna meet in forming families outside the aldeas. The reduction of the marriage market, due to the lesser possibility of intra- or intertribal marriage, leads the young Terêna male (more than the young girl) to seek his bride in the aldeas. On the one hand, due to the aspiration of the detribalized Terêna girls to marry a

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*179 369 582 562 563 "Purutuya," as we saw in paragraph 3 in the pages devoted to convergent factors; on the other hand, due to the difficulty encountered by the Terêna male in winning a non-Indian woman. The existing "racial" prejudice (far more /150/ active in the "Purutuya" woman), combined with the prospect of a low standard of living, practically prevents interethnic marriage, when the suitor is Indian. While it is true that the occurrence of interethnic marriage has favored assimilation, to the point of our classifying it as one of the convergent factors, it is also true that it covers only one population category, namely, the female sex. The marriageable male population is compelled to remain connected as much as possible with their communities of origin, in order to insure themselves wives. One should also consider the expectation of parents (when both are Terêna) that their sons or daughters will marry individuals [628] of their own ethnic group. This leads these families--especially those formed in the aldeas--to exercise some pressure not only on their sons but also on their daughters, to maintain regular relations with the local group, where they will undoubtedly find their spouses. This pressure, however, can be understood here as a way of insuring spouses for their sons (or daughters) without indicating necessarily any prejudice against the "Purutuya": from the cases studied and the testimonies gathered, it may be concluded that as a rule they are quite pleased with interethnic marriage, especially when it improves the situation of their children and of themselves.

*177 182 571 Before we undertake--in conclusion--a recapitulation of the principal points of this work, it will be fitting to show how these convergent factors operate in the assimilation process. [156] The idea is fully acceptable that from the mutual action of contrary factors (convergent associated with divergent ones), there emerge certain mechanisms whose consequences in the individual are uncertainty, a plurality of objectives, ambivalence in the evaluation of persons of his own group, etc., etc.... If we add to this the breakdown of the family, or the breaking

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*177 naturally suffered much less damage than the Exoaladi, Layâna,
178 or Kinikinâu, whether physically (depopulation) or culturally (deculturation). This explains their survival of the vicissitudes they underwent after the war with Paraguay, with their captivity, the disorganization of the local groups, and their dispersal through the fazendas that were forming. With the creation of the native reservations, they even had the strength to reorganize into aldeas, to face /152/ the epidemics and the competition with the regional neo-Brazilian population, because they still made up a rather numerous and highly integrated group.

II. While the majority of the Terêna had gradually returned to aldea life, a minor contingent remained on the fazendas, where they settled, entering a process of detribalization. Today, we find the following picture: some are permanently settled in the "colônias" of those fazendas that granted them better treatment, equivalent to that given the neo-Brazilian countryman; others went on moving from fazenda to fazenda, following the harvesting cycles and the availability of work. Nevertheless, this detribalized population continues to identify itself, on the whole, as belonging to a definite ethnic group and to be recognized by the Terêna "community" as a component of it. The occurrence of interethnic marriage leads, through cross-breeding and family disorganization, to individual assimilation; in a sense, this assimilation becomes easier to be carried out in the rural zones than in the urban areas, in view of the smaller "cultural distance" existing between these zones and the aldeas, in spite of the fact that the cities loom as the most powerful agencies of change.

*177 III. With the progressive urbanization of the neo-
178 Brazilian population nuclei, i.e., with the formation of the
●369 cities, both aldea and detribalized Indians became attracted by them to the point that numerous families settled in the urban and suburban areas and came to live there, subsisting on their urban occupations. In spite of being detribalized and urbanized, these Terêna continued to remain connected with

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*177 the aldeas of their origin, (i) identifying themselves with them,
178 (ii) keeping "lots" in them, and (iii) returning to them for
369 secular activites or magico-religious rituals. The assimilation of this urbanized contingent tends to occur in the generations that follow that of the Terêna emigrant, and in accordance with certain conditions, the most important being: family disorganization. Whether in relation to this urbanized contingent, or in relation to the merely detribalized one--mentioned in the previous paragraph--the assimilation mechanisms are the same, their content obviously varying.

*177 IV. Although the analysis in depth to which we subjected
178 only those Terêna classified as aldea /Indians/ and as urbanized
128 /Indians/, was sufficient to give us an idea of the assimilation process, the exclusion /153/ of the detribalized Terêna, that is, those living on fazendas, imposes on this work a serious limitation which we attempted to circumvent through the use, perhaps the abuse, of a very poor set of data, often obtained by means of indirect methods. Nevertheless, the viability of this procedure, defensible from a methodological standpoint, permitted us to deal with the Terêna as a whole, to classify them into objective sociological categories, and to proffer generalizations about them. The manipulation of the concepts of acculturation and social mobility helped us to foresee two basic aspects or conditions of the assimilation process. Finally, the detailed examination of this process, through an examination of the psycho-social mechanisms emerging from it--carried out with the aid of a particular theoretical scheme (Glaser)--led us to understand the dynamic aspects of ethnic identification and their importance to the survival of the Terêna, as groups.

*177 V. The final conclusion reached is that the Terêna
178 population, in spite of being integrated into the regional economic structure, nothing indicates that in the near future it will come to be assimilated by the Brazilian society or by its socio-cultural segments. (213) Perhaps this will not even